

22 OCTOBER 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **Near East & South Asia**

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22 OCTOBER 1987

## NEAR EAST &amp; SOUTH ASIA

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ARMENIAN

ALL-ARMENIAN PATRIARCH PRAISES PEACE DURING MOSCOW VISIT

46050023a Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 20 May 87 pp 1, 4

["Summary" of statement by Catholicos Vazken I of All Armenians during meeting with the Patriarch of All Russia]

[Text] Our Dear Spiritual Brethren:

The United Nations Organization proclaimed the year 1986 of our Lord as the Year of Peace. Last year, we all did our duty for the consolidation of world peace with our unanimous prayers, our temporal word and our calls directed from the Church to the states and all believers.

However, the year of peace has not ended for us. For all of us, every year is a year of peace--indeed, every day is a day of peace.

It is evident that mankind stands on the threshold of an unprecedented reality which is reminiscent of the revelation to the apostle, St. John.

At this fateful moment, what should our appeal be to God, what should our mission be today and what should our message be to our believers and our peoples?

These are questions which we must answer sagaciously, courageously and, most importantly, with love toward this wonderful world, life and our fellow men.

Chaos was transformed into the cosmos at the moment God said "let there be light." The road to salvation from the repression of sin and death was opened to mankind at the moment the angels heralded the tidings of peace from the heavens above Bethlehem.

Will this divine light be dimmed and will the song of the angels of peace be muted in our time by the hands of men who plan to build a new tower of Babel to disrespect God, to destroy its creation and to drag the world into the abyss of chaos?

We believe that our mission must be to demolish this ungodly tower-building, to block its path toward chaos and to protect and to preserve the light and the harmony of our universe, the peaceful life of our globe and the wonders of man's creative genius built with centuries of work and toil.

The preservation of world peace is not the responsibility of states alone, but perhaps primarily the mission of spiritual leaders, churches and religious organizations; "for God is not a God of confusion but of peace." (First Corinthians 14:33) If we are God's servants, then we must first of all be the servants, the soldiers and the warriors for the realization of God's will of peace.

On this mission of ours, we are happy and spiritually reassured that in our time several governments and many scientists and public figures in all countries are treading the same path of peace. They all are our brethren-in-arms.

It is no longer possible to resolve any issue justly through war.

Justice is possible only through peace.

The message of St. James is today more appropriate than ever: "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace by those who make peace." (James 3:18)

May the good Lord bless and strengthen all those who are struggling in our time to have in their hands the weapon of peace.

9588

ARMENIAN 'ANTI-TURKISH CAMPAIGN' IN FRANCE REPORTED

46050023b Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 10 Jun 87 p 1

[Text] The HURRIYET correspondent reports from Paris:

The Armenian lobby in France resumed its activities as the European Parliament prepared to discuss the "Armenian report." The "Franco-Armenian Solidarity Association" published a half-page appeal in LE MONDE yesterday urging European parliamentarians to officially endorse the "Armenian genocide."

The said appeal is signed by several prominent personalities from various fields including Charles Aznavour; Archbishop Kud Nakkashian, the Armenian prelate of France; Ghabroyan; Levonian; Patrick Devedjian, a parliamentary deputy from the Rally for the Republic; Alain Carignon, the Minister in Charge of Environment of the Chirac government which pretends to be friendly toward Turkey; French writers Margueritte Durat and Francoise Sagan; playwright Eugene Ionesco; Nobel laureate scientists Francois Jacob, Andre Lvov and Louis Nell; mathematician Laurent Schwarz; Henri Troiya, a writer of Armenian origin who is also a member of the French Academy; Henri Verneuille, a film director of Armenian origin; historian Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie; Costa Gavras, a film director of Greek origin; and composer Yiannis Xenakis. Other prominent French public figures who signed the appeal include Andre Janson, the former president general of the General Labor Confederation; writer Claude Moriac; philosopher Jacques Derrida; and writer Jean Lacouture. The collection of all these signatures for an appeal indicates that the Armenian lobby is currently preparing for a new anti-Turkish campaign; to that end, it wants to secure the support of the country's intellectual and artistic circles.

The appeal claims that the objective of the uprooting and the forced deportation of the Armenian population of Anatolia was to exterminate the entire Armenian nation, that this is a publicly known fact and that it can be proven by numerous testimonials. The appeal adds that these allegations can be proven by documents in diplomatic archives which show that the government of the time had planned a "genocide" whose conditions match identically the genocide trial held in Nuremberg in 1945 [as published] and that they were substantiated in a report issued by the UN in 1984.

## BRIEFS

RELOCATION OF ISRAELI CONSULATE--The Israeli Consulate in the city of Alexandria has been moved from its location on Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir street to its new site on lot #207 on 'Abd-al-Salam 'Arif street in the Laurent district of Alexandria. The reason for this move was that the residents of the building in which the consulate was located went to court and asked for the removal of the consulate from their area. The residents of the new property have sent a warning to the minister of foreign affairs, 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid and the minister of interior, Gen Zaki Badr protesting the relocation of the Israeli consulate in their area and threatening to take the matter to the Egyptian court. [Briefs] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 29 Aug 87 p 11] /12913

CSO: 4504/306



## BRIEFS

INDIGENOUSLY DEVELOPED MISSILES--Despite the conditions of the war which has been going on for more than 7 years, Iraqi industry has succeeded in a great military achievement represented by the successful firing of the Iraqi-made "ground to ground" missile whose range is 650 kilometers. In other words, Tehran will be in range of not only Iraqi bombers but also the new Iraqi missiles as long as it is not inclined toward peace. Iraqi television halted program broadcasting to announce this achievement and the text of the message sent to President Saddam Husayn by Dr 'Amir Hammud al-Sa'di, head of the Iraqi "ground to ground" research and development team. [Text] [London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 10 Aug 87 p 4] /12913

INA, ANA COOPERATION PROTOCOL--Baghdad, 23 Aug (INA)--The IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, INA, and the ADEN NEWS AGENCY, ANA, signed a protocol for cooperation here today. The protocol stipulates the regular exchange of news bulletins at no charge, utilizing information transmitted by the two agencies for distribution to subscribers, and coverage of important events in both Iraq and the PDRY. According to the protocol, the two news agencies will cooperate in the exchange of expertise, delegations, and information activities and will coordinate in defining the stands of the media and confronting hostile media organs. Husayn 'Ali al-Samara'i, acting director general of the IRAQI NEWS AGENCY, and Ahmad al-Hubayshi, director general of the ADEN NEWS AGENCY, signed the protocol. [Text] [Baghdad INA in Arabic 1320 GMT 23 Aug 87] /9604

CSO: 44000274

## LABOR 'FALLING IN LINE' WITH RIGHT

TA141231 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 14 Aug 87 p 6

[Commentary by Pinhas 'Inbari: "Falling in Line With the Right"]

[Text] It is not easy to say this but it is becoming increasingly clear that the Labor Party is unable to bring peace. It may not be an accident that peace with Egypt was brought by Begin and not by Yitzhaq Rabin or Golda Me'ir who preceded him, and, ironically, if peace is ever established on the eastern border, it will be established, if at all, by the right.

This sad conclusion is reached after a series of disappointments with the Labor Party's policy in the territories, to which the most symbolic disappointment has been added lately: Police Affairs Minister Hayim Bar-lev's decision to try Hanna Sinyurah, the editor of the East Jerusalem paper AL-FAJR, on the basis of a complaint submitted against him by Attorney Elyaqim Ha'etzni of Qiryat Arba' due to Sinyurah's solidarity with the PLO.

This decision embodies the basic weaknesses inherent in the Labor Party's approach in principle to the peace process. This also provides quite an explanation to the fact that despite all the talk about the peace process it has not begun at all yet.

The first conspicuous sign is the following of the right: Elyaqim Ha'etzni is outlining the direction and the Labor Party is carrying things out. This phenomenon of being dragged after the right has lately also been reflected by "unusual moves," as Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin called them, adopted in Gaza in the wake of the IDF officer's murder and in Qalqilyah--the uprooting of orchards and the establishment of "observation posts" at the settlers' demand--in the wake of the throwing of Molotov cocktails in Alfe Menashe. It is good that the "unusual moves" in Gaza were adopted for a relatively short period, somewhat lessening their damage. However, the similarity between them and Sinyurah's summoning for trial is clear: The settlers' demands had been seriously considered in the suit against Sinyurah just as in the Gaza and Qalqilyah cases. In Gaza and Qalqilyah it was decided to adopt demonstrative measures to deprive the settlers of an excuse for rioting. Nevertheless, it should be noted at the same time that measures are taken also against the

settlers' leaders; some of them have been given suspended sentences while others are facing legal procedures. Paradoxically, this may explain the nature of this trend of following the right; this trend proves "a balance" as it were: When action is taken against the extreme right in Israel, action should simultaneously also be taken against the "PLO."

The Labor Party does not understand that it thus causes a great deal of damage, perhaps irreparable damage, to its ability to lead the political process, not only from the point of view of gravely damaging its credibility among the moderate Palestinian leadership in the territories, but also from the point of view of the international elements who are involved in the political process. When they reach the conclusion that the Labor Party dares not deviate from the borders outlined for it by the right, why should they not turn to the right directly? This is precisely what happened with the peace process with Egypt. Al-sadat at the time approached Begin because he had assessed that Rabin would not deviate from what Begin, the opposition person, would allow him.

In fact, the process of disillusionment from the Labor Party's potential has already begun. It is to this sobering-up that one should ascribe U.S. diplomat Charles Hill's mission to Israel. Shultz chose him due to his good ties with the Likud, with the main efforts being to appease the right, surely at the expense of the Labor Party. However, it is not only the Reagan administration which is beginning to sober up about Peres' options; this process is also noticeable on the part of any future democratic administration, which is currently the opposition. This party is still active on Mideast affairs and is preparing for its return to the White House. Former President Carter's advisers initiate, among other things, conventions on Middle Eastern affairs, which indeed indicates the trend of their policy if the Democrats return to the White House. Participating in these conventions, called the "San Diego" conventions after the university that sponsors them, are the sides with which the Democratic Party wants to establish the peace process if it returns to power. So far only personages from left-wing parties in Israel have been invited to these conventions, but Likud personages, Knesset Members Dan Meridor and Ehud Olmert, have been invited for the first time to the upcoming convention next month. With quite a bit of effort the Labor Party managed to cancel the invitation of these two, but this does not change the atmosphere that has emerged in the Democratic opposition. Carter remembers that his most outstanding achievement as a statesman, the Camp David accord, was obtained with Menahem Begin and not with Yitzhaq Rabin.

Following of the right and the long-term damage involved are only one grave aspect inherent in the decision to put Hanna Sinyurah on trial. A graver aspect, a more basic one, lies in the basic positions of the Labor Party toward the political process. Hayim Bar-lev is one of those who stand for an ongoing Labor Party policy--adherence to a political program, the Alon plan, that is bankrupt. It has not led to peace; it has rather been one of the reasons for the emergence of Qiryat Arba'.

A great deal of goodwill was invested in the plan so as to guarantee peace with security for Israel, but it has one basic and crucial shortage: None in the Arab world is prepared to sit down and discuss it. In Israel too, it is a bone of contention between left and right. The Allon plan is a new version of partitioning the land, and no right-wing element can therefore agree to it. The need to work out a political plan that could also be acceptable to important segments in the right is critical as, in the absence of such a consensus, the settlers can foil any peace process because the entire right will stand behind them.

It is not accidental that Labor Party leader Shim'on Peres talks of an international conference only, and not of the subjects that would be discussed in such a conference. He knows that it is impossible to go to it with the Allon plan, not from the viewpoint of a minimum Israeli consensus, nor from the viewpoint of finding interlocutors for it in the Arab world. As long as the Labor Party adheres to the Allon plan, it is actually at a political deadlock because it is not enough to discuss the procedures of a conference: who would talk with whom, which committees would be set up, and what powers would be given to whom. It is impossible to promote peace without a realistic political plan.

The truth is that Peres has a political plan he dares not present openly because it contradicts the party's platform, which upholds the Allon plan. About 2 weeks ago he "let out," by accident as it were, the idea of a confederation between Israel and the territories, but had to take back his remarks in the face of the anger of his party's Knesset faction. The argument within the faction uncovered the limitations of the Allon plan and the narrow horizons of the Labor Party. It was stated that a Palestinian state is lurking behind Peres' confederation plan.

Knesset Member 'Abd al-wahab Darawshah tried in vain to convince his faction to support the plan of establishing a tripartite confederation between Israel, Jordan, and the territories, while giving Israel maximum guarantees. The argument between Darawshah and the supporters of the Allon plan was so stormy that Darawshah had to leave the room, slamming the door behind him. Peres' inability to support a plan in which he believes arouses doubts about his ability to lead the political process. It seems that he is in a quite desperate condition. He finds himself in a confrontation with the Likud about the international conference plan, whereas, vis-a-vis his own party, he dares not have a confrontation over the Allon plan. After he met with Sinyurah, to demonstrate his idea of who the "authentic Palestinians" are, another minister of his party took Sinyurah and placed him on trial.

The fear that a Palestinian state is lurking behind the confederation plan explains why Hayim Bar-lev, although he opposes the settlers in general and those in Qiryat Arba' in particular, joined hands with Elyaqim Ha'etzni against Hanna Sinyurah. The logic of the Allon plan is an alliance with Jordan against the Palestinians. As far as the territorial aspect is concerned, it talks of partitioning the West Bank between Israel and Jordan. Jordan cannot accept this, but it does willingly

accept the aspect of cooperating with Israel against the Palestinization of the territories, and this is the common policy carried out in the territories today. The logic that stands behind the confederation plan is the exact opposite: The West Bank would be Palestinian, not Jordanian. The Palestinian political entity would be linked to Israel through confederal arrangements that would guarantee security, peace and economic welfare. Instead of security arrangements along the Jordan River, which would be the security border according to the Allon plan, it would be peace itself and common economic arrangements that would guarantee security according to the confederation plan. According to Allon's plan it would be security that would guarantee peace; according to the confederation plan it would be peace that would guarantee security. According to the Allon plan the partner to peace would be Jordan; according to the confederation plan the partner would be the Palestinians, or both the Jordanians and the Palestinians, as the tripartite confederation formula stipulates.

It is no surprise that Jordan takes a negative view of the confederation plans (although, judging by the testimony of a senior U.S. diplomat, Prince Hasan supports this). When Darawshah raised his proposal, the organ of Jordan's supporters in the territories, AL-NAHAR, sharply criticized it while the pro-PLO papers supported it. In other words, the supporters of the Allon plan who prefer Jordan cannot discuss this plan with Jordan, while interlocutors can be found for the confederation plan: the Palestinians (and the Jordanians will join them after the emergence of a realistic possibility for Israeli-Palestinian negotiations over plans of this kind).

The Palestinians are not the only ones, however. A group of senior Likud members is currently working out formulas for a confederation between the territories and Israel which are based on the autonomy plan. It can be assumed that the Likud presented its ideas on the matter before Charles Hill, and it is to be expected that in their summit talks, the Soviets and Americans will reach the conclusion that the plans that the Likud is formulating are preferable to the Alignment's Allon plan.

Hanna Sinyurah's trial may cause a basic credibility crisis between the Labor Party and the moderate leadership in the territories. Indeed, when the Labor Party needs this leadership, this credibility crisis will separate the two. Sinyurah paid a high price for his pragmatic way: leaflets containing threats against him were recently circulated and his cars were set on fire. What example of moderation can he serve if the Labor Party brings him to trial?

However, this trial has another important aspect: Sinyurah will be tried on the basis of his solidarity with the PLO, an offense along the lines of the infamous law banning meetings with PLO members. The Labor Party revealed astonishing shortsightedness in supporting this law, not paying attention to the fact that it is directed against labor itself, as well as against all peace seekers in Israel. For some reason, it is

thought that "PLO" in this context means the members of the Palestinian organization outside the territories. However, a quick look at the settlers' papers immediately indicates that the "PLO" also means those Palestinians within the territories who are opposed to the settlers. The Israeli left that supports the Palestinians' struggle against the settlers is "a traitor" because it supports the "PLO." If Hanna Sinyurah is convicted, this settlers' position will receive legal endorsement and a meeting with Sinyurah will be tantamount to a meeting with 'Arafat. If Sinyurah is declared an enemy, Peres will then be declared a traitor for having met with him.

A radical right-wing government, a coalition among the Likud, the Tehiya, and the nationalistic religious parties, is not farfetched. Such a government may then desire to carry out a "purging" among "traitors" from the left who cooperated with the "PLO." The Elyaqim Ha'etzni trial against Hanna 'Arafat may pave the way for this.

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CSO: 44000275

## BRIEFS

NEW ARAB HOSPITAL RULED OUT--A statement by Israeli Health Minister Shoshana Albeli-almozlino this week that she will not allow the opening of a new Palestinian hospital in East Jerusalem drew strong criticism from Palestinian health personnel long involved in starting this project. The most violent attack came from Dr Yasir 'Ubayd, the physician appointed by Jordan to be in charge of health in the occupied territories. Dr 'Ubayd wrote to Israeli officials asking them to ignore the Albeli-almozlino statement altogether and proceed with the plans to open the hospital. 'Ubayd was upset because he, and a long list of other West Bank physicians and officials, had been working for 2 years to set up this hospital, which is intended to replace the Hospice, closed by the Israeli Government 2 years ago. It plans to give almost free services to poor Palestinian patients. It was to be financed by a grant which the Jordanian Ministry of Health promised to collect via donations from the Arab countries. The cost was put at U.S.\$15 million. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 23 Aug 87 p 16] /9604

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS--In 2000 the number of Jews will be only slightly more than half the residents in Israel and in the territories. There will be a Jewish majority of more than 75 percent, within the Green Line boundaries. These statistics will be presented in Jerusalem today during the annual convention of the Zehavi organization, which acts on behalf of large families in Israel. [Excerpt] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 5 Jul 87] /9604

UNEMPLOYMENT DECREASES--Unemployment in the first 6 months of the year dropped to its lowest in the past 4 years. According to the Manpower Planning Division of the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry, the number of jobless people dropped at the end of June to 5.7 percent of the work force, compared with 7.6 percent in the same period last year. Findings show that the number of people registered at the employment bureaus for 6 days or longer decreased in the first 6 months of 1987 from 18,500 to only 14,400. [Summary] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 5 Jul 87 p 22] /9604

CSO: 44000275

## PRC VICE MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON VISIT

PM201509 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 12-18 Aug 87 p 11

[Interview with PRC Vice Foreign Minister Qi Huaiyuan by Fadiyah al-Zu'bi in Kuwait; date not given]

[Text] [Al-Zu'bi] What are the results of your visit to Kuwait?

[Qi] My visit to Kuwait has contributed to the growth and consolidation of Chinese-Kuwaiti links of friendship, cooperation, and understanding. I have been deeply impressed by the Kuwaiti leadership, having sensed its cordial sentiments and firm confidence in China. It is an essential aim of China's consistent and applied policy to strengthen these relations. We fully appreciate and admire Kuwait's fruitful efforts to develop relations between China and other Gulf states. The Kuwaiti leadership has expressed willingness to continue these efforts.

[Al-Zu'bi] On what does China base its relations with the Gulf states, and what level have these relations reached?

[Qi] China is willing to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Gulf states and to develop these relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China has already established diplomatic relations with some of these states.

[Al-Zu'bi] How does China view the Gulf states in general?

[Qi] I seize the opportunity of my presence in Kuwait, which is a member of the GCC, to emphasize that China harbors cordial feelings for all the Gulf states, both the states with which we have diplomatic ties and those with which we do not. China and the Gulf states have made major contributions to the civilization of mankind. In the past we experienced similar sufferings and now we face the joint task of preserving peace and promoting development. Therefore the enhancement of friendly relations between China and the Gulf states serves not only the basic interests of the Chinese people and the peoples of these states but also the cause of regional and world peace.



[Al-Zu'bi] It has been reported that you have agreed to lease oil tankers to Kuwait, despite the fact that China does not have many such tankers and the fact that it has never reflagged tankers in the past. Why did you take that step?

[Qi] The Kuwaiti request is still under serious consideration. We understand the reasons for it.

[Al-Zu'bi] According to some reports, 70 percent of Iranian arms are Chinese, including the Silkworm missiles deployed at the Strait of Hormuz. How true are these reports?

[Qi] These reports are not true, and the people behind them have suspect aims. China's position on the Iraq-Iran war is very clear. It is a position of not supplying Iran with any arms before the end of the war. As regards the arms which Iran already has, the source is known to everyone.

[Al-Zu'bi] What is China's position on the question of an international peace conference on the Middle East?

[Qi] China supports such a conference under UN supervision provided it is attended by all the parties concerned.

[Al-Zu'bi] Does China intend to establish diplomatic relations with Israel?

[Qi] There is no such intention. Our position is that Israel should stop its strategic expansionist aggressive policy and it should not obstruct the holding of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

[Al-Zu'bi] What is your position on the Palestinian question?

[Qi] We sympathize with and support that cause and we believe that the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East problem. We sympathize with the Palestinian people who are homeless and scattered among various countries. We hope the day will come when these people return to their homeland, regain their legitimate rights, and establish their independent Palestinian state as soon as possible.

[Al-Zu'bi] What is China's position on the nuclear arms race?

[Qi] We wish the Soviet Union and the United States would hold serious negotiations on that matter and reach an agreement not harmful to other states. We believe that peace in Europe is neither less important than nor separable from peace in Asia. We reaffirm our call for elimination, reduction, or destruction of medium-range missiles in Europe and Asia equally and simultaneously.

[Al-Zu'bi] It has been said that China will change its liberal policy. What are the negative aspects of China's "openness"?

[Qi] The policy of openness introduced in China eight years ago has proved to be a positive policy and has been welcomed by all the people of China. The rumors about China's intention to change this policy are unfounded because we believe that the policy of isolation is futile. In the future we will seek to increase our openness, which, for your information, is not at present an openness just to the advanced countries but also to many other states in the Third World. We welcome our friends in these states and in the Gulf states and we invite them to come to China to see for themselves the achievements made under this policy. We have the following proverb in China: "One look is better than a thousand seconhand reports."

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CSO: 4400/0276

## BRIEFS

REDUCED COTTON CULTIVATED AREAS--Khartoum 23 August (SUNA)--The area cultivated with cotton in the Al-Jazirah scheme was decreased by 30 thousand feddans for the current season compared to the past season, Board Chairman of Commissioner of the scheme 'Abdallah Muhammad al-Zubayr said yesterday. He explained that irrigation problems were behind the decrease of cotton cultivated area, saying that only 400 thousand feddans were cultivated with cotton for the current season. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 0940 GMT 23 Aug 87 JN] /12913

ITALIAN GRANT--Khartoum, 12 June (SUNA)--An agreement was signed between Sudan and Italy in the past two days according to which Sudan will receive \$4 million, an amount representing the third and last portion of the Italian grant which amounts to \$20 million. The agreement on this grant was signed in April. The newspaper AL-AYYAM in today's issue quoted a source at the Ministry of Finance as saying this portion of the grant will be given to the Agricultural Bank to help it buy agricultural vehicles needed for projects within the framework of preparations currently under way for the new agricultural season. It is worth noting that the first portion of the grant was used to buy fertilizer worth \$11 million from Italy while the second portion of the grant was used to buy oil and grease worth \$5 million. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1040 GMT 12 Jun 87 JN] /12913

CSO: 4500/131

## FUNDAMENTALIST STRENGTH ON RISE

45040308 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 14 Aug 87 p 10

[Text] The explosions that recently took place in Tunisia once again shed light on the crisis which the country is experiencing, especially since they coincided with the celebration of President Bourguiba's 84th birthday. Whether there was, as official Tunisian circles say, only one political current behind the bombings, represented by the Iranian-supported Islamic fundamentalist current, or another one, the fact that a number of foreign tourists, particularly British, were wounded led to the increased concern of European observers as to what happens in Tunisia. While not hesitating to confer on the official Tunisian position on the fundamentalists the quality of exaggeration, they believe that the matter is more complicated and open to numerous possibilities.

European sources do not underestimate the importance of the fundamentalist current nor do they attempt to deny the link between it and the spread of acts of violence which is the fundamentalist way of organizing to keep the situation tense, to keep the state security apparatus in a constant state of alert so as to drain the state's energies, and to create conditions for a broader mass protest like the "Bread Riots."

However, these circles think that the Bourguiban political apparatus which is led by Prime Minister Rachid Sfar and which, a year after the changing of its crew which was led by former Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali, is still facing an attack from opposition political blocs who have not calmed down since the bread riots, especially the communist and socialist party elements in the trade-union and student movements.

As these circles see it, there is another aspect to the situation. That is that the Islamic fundamentalist current has developed and is becoming stronger with the direct support from the state itself which is aiming at creating through this support a balance with leftist opposition movements. The current has gradually turned against the state, which continued to work with it on the assumption that it was isolated from the masses and could be controlled at the time when difficult social conditions resulting from changes and economic crises provided it with an opportunity to penetrate the popular base and to reach the police, army, and most of the state apparatus, as well as universities, women's associations, and youth clubs.

Here the leftist opposition found more room for tactics. Firstly, in its social and economic demands, the leftist opposition was of the same opinion as the Islamic fundamentalist current--and there is no doubt this gave more cohesion to the latter's current when it took on the role of "spearhead of confrontation" against the state; secondly, it made a partial withdrawal of its support for the fundamentalist current. This is within the context of leftist tactic to provide its power to fill the political vacuum which will occur with the confrontation between the fundamentalists and Bourguibism.

As for the left, any concession by the state, whether it is effected by pressure from the fundamentalists or by a government attempt to reach a national accord with the left, will be a substantial accomplishment which will have an effective role in shaping Tunisia's future after Bourguiba. The most important thing here is to preserve the opposition alliance, with all of its currents, as an alternative to the weakening to which the leftist currents have been subjected since the bread riots. This came about by arresting trade-union leaders, shutting down newspapers, and expelling political activists from the country.

In the midst of these contradictions, Rachid Sfar's government will be one year old, which justifies raising the question concerning its accomplishments.

European observers are of the opinion that the increasing gravity of the social and economic crisis has reached a complicated stage, since no economic planner with modest ambitions can get anything done, whether with Rachid Sfar or someone else behind him and that the current problem now lies between the international struggle for North Africa between the great powers, particularly Europe and America between the [one word illegible].

9274

## BRIEFS

**AID PROTOCOL WITH INDIA--**Kabul, 3 Jul (BIA)--A protocol on technical cooperation involving 100 million Afs gratis aid of friendly India for equipping the extension of the Indira Gandhi Child Health Institute, was concluded yesterday in the Ministry of Construction. According to the protocol, the Indian government would deliver technical equipment and materials for central heating, water supply, drainage air conditioning, power and so on. Nazar Mohammad, Minister of Construction of the DRA and I.P. Khosla, ambassador of India signed the protocol. Mohammad Aziz, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and President of the State Planning Committee was also present at the signing ceremony. Another protocol on the building of the hospital extension at cost of 282 million Afs in Indian aid had been signed earlier. The construction of the extension undertaken by Afghan Construction Unit, has progressed by about 25 percent, and it is expected to be completed in 1988. [Text] [46000308 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 14 Jul 87 p 2] /9274

**COOPERATIVES CHECK PRICE RISE--**The Banks' Consumer Cooperative has offered primary goods worth 5,100,000 Afs to workers and employees of banks and Kabul citizens through its various stationary and mobile stores during the last 15 months. The purpose of establishing of the cooperative is to provide facility to the consumers and supply primary goods to the people. It supplies the needed goods through trade institutions of the Ministry of Commerce, peasants' Cooperative union, Afghan CART, Food Procurement Department and Confectionary Cooperative. It distributes primary goods cheaper than market prices which has proved quite effective both in keeping the price rise in check and raising the purchasing potential of the members of the cooperative. Presently, the cooperative has seven stores in Kabul city, of which four are functioning in the various ministries and state institutions; the rest are in the free market including a mobile one in the 2nd precinct of the city. The goods supplied by the cooperative include edible oil, rice, beans, tea, soap, footwear, cloth and other essential consumer goods. As a first consumer cooperative, the Banks, Cooperative was set up in 1980 with an initial capital of 3 million Afs and a total membership of 1,112. At present, its membership has reached 4396 persons. [Text] [By Zakia] [46000308 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 23 Jul 87 p 2] /9274

**IMMIGRANTS REPORTEDLY REFUSED BURIAL--**"The life of Afghan emigrants in Iranian camps is so deplorable, difficult and humiliating that they cannot have even a piece of land to bury their dead in Iranian graveyards. They have to pay

Tuman 20,000 to Iranian 'Pasdaran' (guards) to get the permission for burial" said Mohammad Nadir, a repatriate who had returned to his village in Samangan province in an interview. He added: "The 'Pasdaran' of Iran put the Afghan emigrant youth behind bars and torture them under different pretexts and accusations. They are released if they agree to go to the war front against Iraq, otherwise they are kept in jails. Life in Iran is difficult and causes much suffering to Afghans. Though the Afghans carry out most hard work, they cannot freely meet their relatives or get their essentials from the shops" Mohammad Nadir said. He went on: "Afghan emigrants in Iran who repent having left their own country, are resolved to return to Afghanistan as soon as possible in the light of national reconciliation. But they are prosecuted and are imprisoned by the Iranian 'Pasdaran'. For instance, after learning about the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy I and a number of our countrymen went to the Afghan embassy in Teheran to get visas for our return, but we were caught coming out of the embassy by the 'pasdaran' and imprisoned for a month." "After release from the prison, we set off with other 50 families for home but only eight families were able to reach Afghanistan. The rest were caught by Iranian police, and after being tortured, went again to the camps. We were warmly welcomed by our countrymen on arrival in Herat province. After giving necessary government assistance, we were transferred by plane to our native province, Samangan. And we have resumed our peaceful life here. "While expressing our gratitude for this humanitarian attitude of the party, and the government I want to request the government to further enable more of our countrymen, who are leading a very difficult life in Iran, to return to the country." [Text] [46000308 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 6 Jul 87 pp 1-2] /9274

## ALCOHOLISM, DRUG ABUSE SERVICES EXPANDING

46000308 Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 25 Jul 87 p 2

[Text]

"Over the last five to six decades, there have been a few cases of drug abuse as well as alcoholism that have been treated from time to time at the Neuro Psychiatric wing of Sanyai Hospital in Ali Abad." It was disclosed by Mental Health Department of the Ministry of Public Health to our reporter recently.

When inquired about the possibility of further development and expansion of the existing services, which appear to be inadequate for an ever-increasing population of Kabul city, KNT was told that the mental health services as a whole and the treatment for alcohol and drug addicts are in the process of active change.

A new and up-to-date alcohol and drug dependence unit is to be set up soon within the framework of mental health department.

A protocol of technical cooperation has recently been signed by the Ministry of Public Health and the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control for collaboration in this

field for providing active and effective services for the addicts. Accordingly, a national expert committee has been set up to serve as a consultative body on this project. The project will ensure an improved awareness and competence of health professionals towards this maladies.

Four psychiatrists and one pharmacist are soon going abroad for further training in the treatment and prevention of drug addiction.

Meanwhile, Mental Health Department is engaged in training 40-50 personnel of School Health Services of Kabul city for preventive measures and to provide health education, especially concerning the problems of mental health and drug abuse.

About 30 medical doctors and more than 40 health workers of Primary Health Care and certain other health institutions have just finished a training course run by the Mental Health Department with the approval and assistance of WHO. This will pave way for integrating mental health



services into general health services in the country. The main objective of this approach is to extend it to rural areas where the affected people are presently deprived of these services.

Fifty health workers, including more than twenty young physicians, successfully finished a 3-month comprehensive in-service training course in Psychological Medicine at Mental Health Department last year. This has made it possible for the department to provide mental health services for 20 of the 29 provinces where no similar services existed in the past.

Most of the provinces will have a few beds in the general hospitals allocated for the treatment of mental illness by the end of this year. It will enable the department to serve not only those with mental illness and neurological disorders in the provinces and rural areas in near future, but also those with alcohol and drug abuse problems all over the country.

It is also planned to carry a small-scale survey of alcohol and drug abuse problems in Kabul in the near future. The outcome of the survey as well as the data collected from the already planned Alcohol and Drug Dependence Unit will help us to identify the nature of drug and alcohol abuse problems in order to establish a suitable programme in due course.

## WEAPON SALES TO IRAN SAID TO HAVE 'INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY'

46400180a London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Aug 87 p 8

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] In the last three years the number of countries selling arms and ammunition to the Islamic republic and Iraq has increased significantly.

Available statistics and information show that the number of countries which have embarked on the sale of arms to the Islamic republic has increased faster than has the figure for nations selling weapons and ammunition to Iraq.

The GUARDIAN newspaper of London, quoting Walter Eshtavi Tezil, Director of the Stockholm Institute for International Peace Studies, announced that the increase in the number of sellers of arms to the combatants in the Persian Gulf war is such that even if the United Nations were to pass a resolution for an arms embargo on the Islamic republic, Iraq, or both, the possibility that the war would stop would be very remote, but according to this newspaper: The market for arms sales to the Islamic republic and Iraq is unprecedented. Since 1984 the quantities and value of arms exported to the two combatants in the Persian Gulf has continuously increased. In 1984, only a total of 40 countries sold arms to the two parties to the war. Currently this figure has increased to 53 nations. In 1984, Iraq obtained weapons from 19 nations. These nations have now declined to a total of nine, while in 1984 the Islamic republic bought weapons from 11 nations and now buys them from 16 nations. Among the nations that export arms and ammunition exclusively to the Islamic republic are Algeria, Argentina, Canada, Kenya, Denmark, Finland, Israel, South Korea, Libya, Mexico, Taiwan, Singapore, Syria, Turkey, Vietnam and Yemen. In addition to the nations that sell arms exclusively to one of the two nations, there are many countries that export arms to both nations.

The chief of the Stockholm World Peace Institute—who was interviewed on radio in the Federal Republic of Germany—said: China currently provides weapons to both nations fighting in the war. Chinese arms exports go to Iraq through Egypt, and they reach Tehran through North Korea.

Quoting statistical sources in the United States, the GUARDIAN wrote: The Islamic republic has spent a minimum of five billion dollars on weapons since the beginning of the war.

At the same time, the independent British ATV television network conducted an extensive study on the illegal export of arms from England to the Islamic republic. It announced that in the last few years more than 50 major English companies have been smuggling various kinds of light and heavy arms, equipment and spare parts to the Islamic republic. The announcer for this television

network added: The value of weapons and war materiel smuggled by English middlemen to the Islamic republic is in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The ATV network noted in this report that the Islamic republic's military procurement center on London's Victoria Street is responsible for planning, coordinating and carrying out the purchase and shipment of arms and ammunition to the Islamic republic.

The reporter for this television network disclosed that the British foreign ministry pressured the network to stop the broadcast of news on arms smuggling to the Islamic republic by this nation's military procurements office.

The report released last week by this television network on the method of making illegal arms sales to the Tehran regime contains the names of some British companies who sell weapons to the Islamic republic using unknown board members and false addresses. The ATV correspondent disclosed that arms middlemen and smugglers would turn arms and war equipment shipments over to the Irish Irlingus airline after receiving orders from the Islamic republic's military procurement center located in the offices of the National Iranian Oil Company in London. That airline would then turn the shipments, with their forged labels, over to Iran Air in London. This television network announced that the British police and this nation's customs officials are currently conducting an investigation to collect documentation on the illegal activities of several companies in the smuggling of arms to the Islamic republic. It is expected that the chiefs of several of these firms will soon be arrested and prosecuted for illegal activities.

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CSO: 4640:180

## IMPORTED GOODS CUT IN HALF

46400175a London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Aug 87 p 8

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The Islamic republic's Ministry of Commerce recently published a list of imported goods authorized with export foreign exchange. According to the statement from the Ministry of Commerce, the commission established by Article 15 of the Guidelines for Implementation of the Import-Export Law limited the goods eligible for import with export foreign exchange in its meeting of 4/26/1366 [17 July 1987]. The list of eligible goods is as follows:

- 1 - Cutting blades for household appliances.
- 2 - Components and parts for mantle lamps.
- 3 - Components and parts for gas coolers.
- 4 - Components and parts for refrigerators and freezers.
- 5 - Components and parts for non-electric water heaters.
- 6 - Components and parts for washing machines.
- 7 - Components and parts for sewing machines and sewing machine needles.
- 8 - Components and parts for weaving machines and needles for weaving machines.
- 9 - Components and parts for electric sweepers, fans, meat grinders, juicers and mixers.
- 10 - Components and parts for radios and television sets.

The Islamic republic's Ministry of Commerce also announced that production units may import the raw materials and parts they need in amounts equivalent to the foreign exchange gained from exporting their goods. Authorization to import spare parts to repair and maintain machinery and equipment owned by units engaged in production, agriculture, industry and mining using foreign exchange obtained from exports may be obtained with approval from the above commission, representatives of the Center for Procuring and Distributing Industrial Equipment, the Ministry of Heavy Industries, the Ministry of Mines and Metals, and the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Ministry of Commerce explained in its announcement that after 28 Mordad 1366 [19 August 1987] the procurement centers will no longer approve proforms for goods. Likewise, all imports are subject to public import and export regulations.

In its announcement, the public relations office of the Islamic republic's Ministry of Commerce added: All importers of the above goods must report to the Consumer and Producer Protection Organization to set prices, obtain an official price list, and distribute them according to Ministry of Commerce regulations.

In the last few years the Islamic republic has taken effective steps to reduce exports by establishing various policies, due to the reduction in foreign exchange earnings as well as increased costs for weapons. Based on statistics published by the Iran Office of Customs Statistics, while in the year 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984] the Islamic republic purchased goods valued at 1,639,955 million rials from other countries, this figure dropped to 809,376 million rials last year. A comparison of these two figures shows that in the last three years the Islamic republic has reduced its imports by more than half. The import price indicator for the years 1358 [21 March 1979 - 20 March 1980] to 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] shows that with the exception of the years 1360 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1982] to 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984], there has been a continuous decline in the value of the Islamic republic's imports.

According to statistics published by the Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mines, if we take the year 1358 [21 March 1979 - 20 March 1980] as the base year for this indicator, for the years 1359 [21 March 1980 - 20 March 1981] through 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987] it is 135, 217, 202, 243, 161, and finally 119 respectively.

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## DIVORCE RATES REPORTEDLY INCREASING

46400175b London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Aug 87 p 15

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Meshabzadeh]

[Text] Iran has one of the highest divorce rates in the world; most of the cases before the Iranian civil courts are divorce-related.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mehdavi Kani-Kermani, chief justice of the civil courts, recently discussed this. He said:

The primary reason for Iranian divorces is unwarranted interference by mothers and fathers and their dependents. He gave the taking of a second wife, which has become easier and more common since the establishment of the Islamic republic, as another reason for divorce.

Another reason for the increased divorce rate in Iran is narcotics addiction, which has become quite rampant in the last few years. Another reason for divorce, deliberately or inadvertently omitted by the chief justice of the civil courts, is the intolerable economic and social pressure in Iran, which these days has made it impossible for the people to lead normal lives. Problems such as low incomes, high prices, inhumane restrictions and limitations, and unfair inequalities in today's Iranian society have agitated the people. They must make difficult decisions and deal with entanglements in trivial matters.

The chief of the civil courts complained about the undesirable situation in his courts. He said: Most of our courts do not have a chief and a judge, since there are few qualified people. Due to our scant financial resources, no one works with us. He explained: Although the civil courts deal with such matters as child protection and mixed parentage, marriages, divorces, matters pertaining to mortmain, assigning custodianship, verifying and nullifying wills and their thirds, and alimony, most of the court's cases are divorce-related, and this shows that most of the marriages in Iran are subject to dissolution.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Mehdavi called upon the parents in families not to separate for trivial reasons, because their children must build the future of the Islamic republic!

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## BRIEFS

**SOVIET TECHNICIANS REPORTEDLY RETURN**—Russian engineers and technicians, who left the Ramin energy complex and electrical power station near Ahvaz some time ago, will soon return to Ahvaz to continue working. According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, Vil Boldyerv (the Soviet Union's ambassador in Tehran) met with Mohammad Reza 'Adeli, deputy minister of energy, and discussed the details of continuing the project to build a power station in Ahvaz by Russian engineers and technicians. During this meeting, which took place in the middle of last month, the Islamic republic's deputy ministry of energy also discussed the plan to build two dams on rivers bordering the two countries with the Soviet ambassador. On the basis of the decisions taken, experts from the ministry of energy will go to that country to visit a Soviet electrical power station near the coast of the Caspian sea. The power station to be visited by the ministry of energy's experts is powered by steam. [Text] [46400174a London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Meshabzadeh] 9310

**KHANGIRAN NATURAL GAS RESOURCES**—The National Iranian Gas Company has taken the preliminary steps for implementing the second stage of the project to expand the Khangiran natural gas production facilities (located in northeast Iran, in Khorasan). In order to implement this stage, the company has invited foreign contractors to submit their proposals. At the same time, the National Iranian Gas Company plans to extend the present Sarakhs gas pipeline from Neka (near Mazandaran) to Rasht and East Azarbaijan. The Khangiran natural gas production complex in Khorasan was built between 1977 and 1984 by an Italian contractor called Sapim, with the assistance of the Chemi Montobi and Technipetrol company. The British Davy McKee company did the designing and engineering for the complex. The cost of building the complex was more than \$115 million. Currently this complex provides the energy needed by the Neka electrical power station. In addition, in the last few years some of the cities in this area have been able to utilize Sarakhs natural gas for domestic consumption. [Text] [46400174b London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Meshabzadeh] 9310

**BARREN LAND DISTRIBUTION**—During the last six years the Islamic republic has given about 670,000 hectares of barren and unused lands to farmers without land throughout the country. The central staff for the land distribution agencies announced that in addition to barren and unused lands, it will divide among farmers lands it calls "lands for temporary cultivation." The lands distributed total more than 800,000 hectares, and are farmed by a total of 120,000 rural families. The distribution of these lands will be completed by the year 1368 [21 March 1989 – 20 March 1990]. This staff said that these lands are owned by 5,000 persons. There are 120,000 hectares in Mazandaran, Gorgan and Gonbad, 120,000 hectares in Kordestan, 82,000 hectares in Fars and Bushehr, 80,000 hectares in Zanjan, and 75,000 hectares in Khuzestan. The Tehran newspaper KEYHAN, quoting a member of the central staff for the land distribution

agencies, wrote: Between the years 1359 [21 March 1980 - 20 March 1981] and 1365 [21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987], a total of 560,000 hectares of barren and unused lands have been distributed among farmers throughout the country. [Text] [46400174c London KEYHAN in Persian 6 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Meshabzadeh] 9310

**TRADE WITH SWITZERLAND DECLINES**—In the first two months of 1987 the Islamic republic exported 10.3 million francs to Switzerland in goods and substances, while it purchased about 43.9 million francs in goods from this nation. The value of goods exported by the Islamic republic to Switzerland in February of this year was about five million francs, while the value of goods exported by Switzerland to the Islamic republic was about 15.6 million francs. A comparison of the figures for the commercial exchanges between Tehran and Bern in the same period last year shows that in February of the current year the Islamic republic has reduced its trade with Switzerland. Based on figures published in **SWISS FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICS** by the Federal Customs Administration, in February of 1986 the Islamic republic exported a total of 21.6 million francs to that country and imported 28.4 million francs in goods from Switzerland. [Text] [46400178a Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh] 9310

**TABRIZ PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX**—The National Iranian Petrochemical Company has changed the construction site for Iran's third petrochemical complex from Esfahan to Tabriz. Agreement was reached on changing the complex's construction site after discussions among experts and consideration of numerous economic, political and technical matters, and especially the subject of air pollution. Based on reports received with regard to this, petrochemical experts recommended to officials that another site be selected for the construction of Iran's petrochemical complex due to the existence of other factories around Esfahan, as well as the heavy chemical production activity in the area. Had the petrochemical complex been constructed in Esfahan, the oil required for it was to have been sent to the complex's construction site by pipeline from the Marun wells "near Ahvaz." Now that the plan has been changed and Tabriz has been announced as the new construction site, the oil required for this industrial complex will be procured at the Tabriz refinery. The Tabriz oil refinery now refines 110,000 barrels of oil per day. The National Iranian Oil Company plans to increase the refinery's capacity by 35 percent by implementing a plan to expand its facilities. [Text] [46400178b London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh] 9310

**HONEY PRODUCTION INCREASE**—The Islamic republic's price-setting commission has announced the export price for honey. Recently the Iran Export Expansion Center announced the results of this commission's decision to Iranian customs authorities. The FOB prices for exported honey are as follows: 1 - Honey with wax in glass containers, 72 rials per kilogram. 2 - Honey without wax in glass containers, 79 rials per kilogram. The Iran Export Expansion Center announced that these prices will be good until the end of the current year. As this announcement was being made, an official from the National Livestock Organization gave a press conference in which he said that a project is being implemented to breed queen bees by beekeepers in the private sector. Quoting the official from the National Livestock Organization, the **ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY** reported that last year 215,000 tons of honey were produced in the country in one million bee hives. Currently most of the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf, as well as some European nations such as West Germany and England, buy Iran's exported honey. [Text] [46400178c London KEYHAN in Persian 13 Aug 87 p 8] [London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh] 9310

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## FORMER MINISTER ALLEGES SECRET PACT WITH U.S. AID

46000309a Karachi DAWN in English 22 Aug 87 pp 1, 3

[Text]

AUGUST 21: Dr Mubashir Hasan, an eminent economist-politician, has revealed that the United States under "a secret agreement", with Pakistan has acquired for the American State Department the rights and opportunities to enforce American laws on Pakistani soil.

Under the agreement, he told a news conference on Friday, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a State Department organ, had been empowered to conduct numerous operations, including the implementation of the "primary health care (PHC) project," for the construction of 13 medical technician-training schools at various places in Pakistan, to be designed by architects and engineers appointed and paid by the US government.

Tenders for the projects have also been invited by the United States. The contract debarred public sector construction companies of Pakistan to make bids. Purchases of material from Pakistani government firms have also been prohibited under the agreement.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan said by signing the agreement the "Government of Pakistan had surrendered a chunk of its sovereignty to the United States." The contract was "shameful", he said, as it violated and restricted the powers of the legislature, executive and the judiciary in Pakistan. After the Badaber affair it was the first agreement which struck at the very core of Pakistan's sovereignty, he said, and asserted that it was illegal and unconstitutional to reach such an agreement.

He demanded a public enquiry into the conduct of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Economic Affairs, Planning and Health and that delinquent ministers be sacked and senior government officers disciplined.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan referred to a tender notice published in an English national daily on April 16 this year and said that examination of the bid document for the construction of two schools in Baluchistan, a part of the PHC project, revealed that the construction agreement stipulated standard forms "prescribed by a US government agency. In the agreement the government meant Government of the United States of America. 'Cooperating country' would mean the foreign country for which services were to be rendered in this case Pakistan. In the contract for construction, 'head of the agency' or 'secretary' means the secretary (or Attorney General, Governor, etc. as appropriate) of the agency and, in the Department of Defence, the under-secretary or any assistant secretary of the departments of the army, navy, and air force...and government means the Government of the United States of America.

The contractor, he said, agreed to include in the sub-contracts a clause to the effect that the Comptroller General or a representative from the General Accounting Office shall until 3 years after final payment have access to and the right to examine ... books, documents, papers ... related to the sub-contract. On behalf of the US the construction contract was to be signed by Fredrick A. Wills, Contracting Officer. The US Government inspectors will inspect and accept the construction work.

This paragraph, said Dr. Mubashir, applied if the contractor employed any person who, but for a waiver granted by the Secretary of Labour, would be subject to workers "compensation insurance under the defense Base Act (42 USC 1651 et seq). The clause (52.229-6 taxes-foreign fixed price contracts) was modified to the extent the AID was not permitted to finance identifiable taxes, duties or similar impositions of the government of Pakistan and/or its political subdivisions or agencies. All amounts that become payable ... under the contract shall bear simple interest from the date due ... the interest rate shall be the rate established by the Secretary of Treasury as provided in Section 12 of the Contract Disputes Act of 1978. The government might terminate performance of work under the contract ... if the contracting officer determined that a termination was in the government's interest.

According to Dr. Mubashir, although the contractor would be responsible for all the work ... it shall be under the guidance of the mission director in matters relating to US foreign policy. The parties recognised the right of the US Ambassador in Pakistan to direct the removal from a country of any US citizen or discharge from the contract of any third country national or 'cooperating country' national

when, in the discretion of the Ambassador the interests of the United States so required. The contractor shall not acquire for use in the performance of the contract any supplies or services originating from sources or transported from or through communist countries like Kampuchea, North Korea, Vietnam, or Cuba.

The Government of Pakistan, Baluchistan Directorate of Health and the US Agency for International Development had approved the plans and bid documents. Dr. Mubashir said that 64 clauses of US Federal Acquisition Regulations were applicable to the contract. Besides, in the American venture under American laws, the Pakistan Government construction companies were not competent to submit bids. Also the contractor was debarred from making any purchases or getting any work performed through a subcontract with any public sector firm.

According to him, the construction of the schools in this manner was not an engineering but a dastardly political operation. Otherwise, why would a school and its other buildings covering an area of 24,000 square feet be estimated to cost Rs. 85 million by the US i.e. more than Rs. 1750 per square foot including the cost of services. And all this amount will be written down as loan to Pakistan, Dr. Mubashir said.

## UNDUE U.S. CONTROL OVER DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ALLEGED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 27 Aug 87 p 7

[Text]

**DR. MUBASHIR HASAN'S** demand that the Government should immediately offer a full explanation on the privileges granted to the U.S. AID will be supported by all conscious sections of the country's population.

That the U.S. AID mission, as the agency largely responsible for overseeing matters connected with American aid, has enjoyed many extraordinary privileges in Pakistan has been known for years. It serves the U.S. Government and aid/credit-giving agencies as the principal source of information on the state of Pakistan's economy and the political factors having a bearing on its prospects. To facilitate this task the U.S. AID has been given the freedom to conduct any inquiries and, perhaps, access to official records, including information which may not necessarily be available to Pakistani researchers. The mission has also functioned as a disbursing of aid/credit and as such monitors the progress of projects for which assistance is advanced. Even in these fields it has enjoyed, by virtue of the wholly one-sided agreements the United States imposes on supplicants for its bounty, certain prerogatives irreconcilable with Pakistan's right to freedom of economic management. Democratic opinion and economists conscious of vital national interests have never condoned this state of affairs but, for obvious reasons, their protests have had little effect on establishments addicted to doles.

**Exclusive control**

Now Dr Mubashir Hasan has alleged that the U.S. AID mission has been granted a sort of autonomy to implement projects. According to the Chairman of the Independent Planning Commission and former Finance Minister, the mission is carrying out a number of projects on which it is dealing directly with contractors for civil works. The contracts with the latter are subject to American laws on labour, arbitration, and restrictions on association with the public sector in Pakistan as well as with countries ostracised by Washington. Some of these stipulations clearly violate the universally accepted conventions governing international economic assistance. The donor-country has every right to make sure that the project for which help is sought is feasible. After a feasibility report has been mutually accepted and the terms and conditions of assistance finalised, the execution of the project is or should be the responsibility of the aid-receiver. Even when the latter does not have the technological means to carry out a project and association with foreign experts is unavoidable, its normal jurisdiction cannot be totally ousted by the donor-country. The kind of prerogatives allowed to the U.S. AID, according to Dr. Mubashir, raise the mission to the status of a State within the Pakistani State and one cannot imagine how any national administration could have countenanced such an arrangement.

One possible explanation is that the Government of Pakistan has conceded its inability to execute U.S.-assisted projects efficiently or expeditiously. There may be valid reasons for this queer act of self-condemnation but the answer to the problem does not lie in leasing out of sovereign rights — the logic of the case leads to dangerous conclusions —, it lies in creating an administration capable of performing its elementary functions. If Pakistani authorities cannot build schools for the medical personnel or roads, there is little else that they can be trusted with.

### Many risks

The Government should not be unaware of several great dangers in giving foreign agencies exclusive charge over development projects. The first, of course, is the possibility of discrimination among Pakistani entrepreneurs; it is preposterous that a Pakistani should be deprived of his economic rights guaranteed by the laws of the land only because the aid-giver wishes to impose its own national regulations. Secondly, a project completely immune to intervention by Pakistani authorities may eventually acquire a shape inconsistent with local needs and

priorities ( an example is the World-Bank-aided primary schools in which construction of imposing buildings has consumed a better part of resources which should have been reserved for more essential requisites of education). Thirdly, the possibility of foreign agencies creating pressure groups by unduly favouring contractors, by making abnormally high payments for services, cannot be ruled out altogether. Fourthly, it is not impossible that the foreign agency has in its mind other uses of civil works it carries out than those contemplated by the Pakistani authorities. Much of the speculation about foreign interest in Baluchistan, for instance, is born of U.S. AID's allocations for and execution of projects there, about which Pakistanis do not have adequate knowledge and which are not subject to normal institutional supervision.

In view of all this, the demand that the Government must review its agreements with the U.S. AID and other foreign agencies operating in the country cannot be ignored. Since the recent disclosures have created serious doubts in the public mind, the process should begin with a detailed statement of the official position in the matter.

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## COMMENTARY VIEWS U.S. REPORT ON COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 27 Aug 87 p 9

[Text]

PAKISTAN's planners and administrators have been receiving, in public, for the last 10 years pats on the back from their mentors in the World Bank family and the U.S. State Department for their wonderful management of the economy. This country was frequently held out as a model of development, fit to be emulated by other developing countries. However, the Country Development Strategy Statement of the U.S. AID on Pakistan, a confidential document accompanying the \$4.02 billion aid package, now admits that the events of the last 10 years (the long dark night of Martial Law fully propped up by the U.S.) have contributed greatly to the economic and political crisis in which the country finds itself today.

**Confusion & problems**

According to the study, the "impact of these events in terms of confusion of national purpose, inability to concentrate on long-range problems and growing incidence of corruption is manifest in various institutional crises. Primary education has been starved, universities politicised and research neglected. Basic institutions like WAPDA and Provincial Irrigation Departments have failed to reform their bureaucracies to respond to constantly growing demands on their services. The political elite (military rulers in power) have ignored the growing institutional problems or have been unable to muster the will to tackle them."

The report further forewarns that "Pakistan is likely to suffer severe setbacks over the next six years unless serious underlying constraints are addressed and corrected. Hence over the long-term, Pakistan's growth prospects are poor unless bold steps are taken to correct structural weaknesses".

The weakness that is singled out for immediate consideration is education. The report says: "Basic education has been severely neglected for decades. Pakistan's educational base remains so weak as to constitute a serious threat to sustainable economic growth. Even officially only 24 per cent of the population is literate — placing Pakistan in the bottom quartile of all developing countries." With 80 per cent expenditure on debt servicing, defence and law and order, is it possible to pay greater attention to education?

**Borrowed time**

The Statement quotes World Bank consultant John Lewis as saying: "The Pakistan economy is, in certain important respects, living on borrowed time." The malaise with which Pakistan's economy is said to be afflicted are excessive Government regulation of the formal economy, tax evasion, smuggling, drug trafficking and profiteering. Some of these are directly related to the Afghan war and refugee population and all combined have contributed to a "vigorous" black or informal

economy which is growing more rapidly than the official GNP. The Taxation Reform Commission estimated the black economy at one-third of the total GDP. The Statement refers to other estimates which suggest that black economy accounts for up to 50 per cent of GNP.

The question is if the economy has been so badly managed why have US and US-dominated World Bank IMF family been trumpeting glories of Pakistan's planning and economic management since 1978? (The U.S. was not happy with Pakistan from 1965 to 1977). The Statement itself provides the answer. It considers that the large U.S. aid programme is clearly one of the most important in the overall U.S. strategic approach to Pakistan. The large aid and close support to the regime, which made a mess of the economy, was the direct consequence of the Afghan war.

The Statement says that even if fighting in Afghanistan ceases or slows down markedly over the next year or so, the region itself will remain sensitive and unstable (from the viewpoint of U.S. interests) for years to come and Pakistan's role (in furtherance of U.S. policy) will continue to be of vital importance (obviously to the U.S.).

As in the case of East Pakistan crisis, when the U.S. encouraged and fully supported dictatorship at the

Centre and at the same time sympathised with the deprived people of that Wing, so now the State Department, while giving full backing to the absolute rule of military-cum-civil bureaucracy and its ruthless policies, has developed an apparently sympathetic attitude towards the smaller provinces. The Statement says "the formation of Sindhi-Pakhtoon-Baluch political front is indicative of attitudes in the three smaller provinces that Punjab and the Punjabis are not giving them a fair deal." It further says: "Regional and ethnic issues are important in Pakistan. A core concern is how economic and political power should be shared between the Central Government and the various provinces. On the per capita basis the residents of NWFP and Baluchistan are allocated a disproportionately large share of the national development budget, but this has not dispelled the belief that investments largely benefit the Punjabi-dominated bureaucracies in the provincial capitals." To demonstrate this sympathy with the deprived, the new U.S. aid package earmarks special development projects for the NWFP and Baluchistan. The Statement makes special mention of the backwardness of the large parts of NWFP and Baluchistan and notes that "perceptions of inadequate attention by the Central Government have alienated segments of local population."

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## AFGHAN POLICY SEEN HAMPERING MERGER, GOVERNANCE OF TRIBES

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 27 Aug 87 pp 17, 32

[Article by Afzal Bokhari]

[Text] THE TRIBAL BELT and the people living there have recently been in the news for many reasons. In fact, the entire social set-up in the Frontier Province carries such a typical stamp that a dispassionate observer finds it well nigh impossible to tell what is tribal in it and what is not.

Originally, it were the British who, for various administrative reasons, made the present division of the province into settled and tribal areas. Even after 40 years of independence this division continues. In spite of enormous changes taking place all around the tribal belt, the life of the common man inside the belt has hardly undergone any substantial change.

**Administrative division**

To have a better idea of what precisely are the tribal areas, one must not forget that the entire Frontier Province is inhabited by several tribes. While the tribes living in the settled areas are governed by Deputy Commissioners and the rest of the administrative machinery at their disposal, those living in the tribal areas are ruled by Political Agents. Beyond the settled and tribal territories, there is a vast expanse of no-man's land on both sides of the Durand Line.

When the British ruled the sub-continent, they divided the NWFP into three main regions — the occu-

pied or settled areas, agencies and tribal territories. The agencies included, and still include such areas as Bajour, Mohmand, Khyber, Kurram and Waziristan. The British rulers concluded a pact with Amir Abdur Rahman, the then ruler of Afghanistan, about the tribal areas

which originally extended to Bolan. The no man's land of tribal territories was supposed to serve as a buffer zone beyond which the British forces were treaty-bound not to interfere.

According to the Official Handbook of Pakistan Survey (1978-81) the population of all tribal areas put together is between two and two-and-a-half million. No one in the tribal belt has a permanent source of income. Those living in the formerly tribal but the present Malakand Agency used to (and still do) depend on forests, agriculture and precious stones.

But most of the others living in the tribal territories have been earning their livelihood in a variety of ways. The tribal chiefs have always looked forward to receiving monetary favours either from the Pakistani or the Afghan government. The ordinary people have by and large been associated with smuggling, arms trafficking and lately even with heroin trade. Cases of taking people hostage and putting them to heavy ransom have not been uncommon either. In fact, the tribal population has evolved, so to speak, a typical

code of ethics for itself. They seem to have their own primitive but comparatively more effective laws governing crime and punishment.

### Unnatural division

Many sensible people in the country have ridiculed this unnatural and unrealistic division of the land and its people. Because this scheme of things has existed for years on end, it should not mean it is eternal. But the issue of merging the tribal areas with the NWFP is a highly complicated proposition which warrants a cool-headed appraisal and a wise strategy. It has grave political implications and a hasty decision could backfire.

The wish to merge tribal areas with the rest of the country has probably always been there but due to various political considerations a serious initiative has never been taken. When the former Governor of the NWFP, Lt.-Gen. (Retd.) Fazle Haq, was a brigadier he was given an assignment by the GHQ to find ways and means to gradually bring the areas under federal rule. He took pains to study the problem from all possible angles and submitted a detailed report.

With the tribal people having easy access to Iran and Afghanistan the key to the problem does not lie entirely with Islamabad. For the last few decades the ruling circles both in Pakistan and Afghanistan have been attempting to use the tribal card as a highly effective lever. Granting a few political favours to the tribesmen or by indulging in rest of the familiar manoeuvring, each government, at suitably critical times, has successfully created the desired amount of unrest or embarrassment for the other, which explains why neither of the two has a genuine wish to resolve the matter amicably in the foreseeable future.

### Little prospects

The way Pakistan has all along been reacting to the change in Afghanistan has obviously ended almost all prospects for an early patch-up first with Kabul and then with the tribesmen who at present have fallen to the lure of the Klashnikov. Indeed, the louder we shout from the rooftop against the revolution in Afghanistan, the greater

the chances for Kabul to strategically use the tribesmen against Pakistan.

The new element which has somehow been injected into the whole situation is the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. One thing which should be clear enough both to Islamabad and Washington – in fact to all others who subscribe to their policies – that the USSR would not allow any undoing of the gains of an admittedly premature revolution in Afghanistan. Had this not been so, the need for Soviet forces moving into Afghanistan would not have arisen. Before hoping for a peaceful merger of the tribal areas we first have to assure the USSR that we do not mean to follow the U.S. policy of avenging Vietnam by making the USSR bleed white in Afghanistan even to the extent of fighting to the last Afghan rebel.

The tribesmen themselves seem divided on the question of merger. They are apparently happy with their present nomadic status. The Government of Pakistan may not like to opt for an immediate merger because it may mean another enormous liability and undue burden on an already strained national exchequer. But if a serious effort is mounted in this direction it may gradually lead to a situation where the tribesmen may find it more worthwhile to merge rather than remain aloof.

### Do it now

If an effort is really to be made it should be made now. The portents in the tribal areas are already alarming. Most senior people in the area who also act as judges and decide cases of murder, theft and abduction are the tribal Maliks. They are rapidly being replaced by smugglers who are the products of the Klashnikov-heroin culture. They oppose all development work in the area which must continue in any case. The laws should be made simpler to correspond to the customs of the tribal people. Whenever a tribesman comes to live in the settled area he has little patience with the tedious legal procedures of police, courts and patwaris and ultimately decides to go back to his tribal home. If the laws are not recodified to suit the requirements of the people, educated tribal youth will become more and more alienated from the mainland.



## MINISTER COMMENTS ON PRIVATE SHARIAT BILL

46000309c Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 26 Aug 87 p 8

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, Aug. 25: Mr. Wasim Sajjad, Federal Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, said here today that the people had rejected the Private Sharia Bill, now in the Senate, as it was not acceptable to all schools of thought of the Muslims in Pakistan in its present shape.

He said the Government was doing its level best to achieve the consensus of all on a mutually acceptable draft of the Sharia Bill and asserted that it would not succumb to the demand of United Sharia Front for the passage to the said Bill by the Parliament in its present shape.

He maintained that the constitution of the country itself guaranteed the enforcement of Sharia in the country, as it clearly declared that Quran-o-Sunnah was the supreme law of the land and that no law would be passed in the country which was in conflict with the commandments of God Almighty and principles of Quran-o-Sunnah. The Constitution also laid down the mechanism under which all laws had to be brought in conformity with the tenets of Islam and thus provided that after the passage of certain time period, all laws of the country would be brought under the fold of Sharia.

Sajjad persisted that when the existing laws were amended to conform to the principles of Quran-o-Sunnah and all such laws which were repugnant to the tenet of Islam were nullified, Sharia would automatically rule supreme in the country.

He said the Government did not introduce another Sharia Bill, unless differences concerning the

Private Sharia Bill were resolved and consensus among all achieved.

He said the measures were being taken to ensure speedy and quick justice to the people through quick disposal of cases by the courts.

He said the establishment of the proposed Qazi Courts did not mean that all requirements of the law concerning the investigation, collection of evidence and opportunity to the guilty to prove innocence would be set aside or that some person with the name of Qazi would walk on the street at night in disguise and decided the cases on the spot. The Qazi court meant that the anomalies in the present structure of judiciary and cumbersome procedures were being removed, so that justice could be provided to the people without wastage of time.

The Minister said the proposal of appointment of the Ombudsman in the provinces was under active consideration of the Government. He said though a final decision was yet to be made in this regard, necessary arrangements were being finalised.

He said the next session of the National Assembly and Senate would begin by the seventh of the next month. He said the two ordinances namely the suppression of terrorist activities and establishment of special courts for quick disposal of cases of subversion would be taken up during the forthcoming sessions by the two Houses. Besides, he said, the already pending legislative business, would also be disposed of in the coming sessions.— PPI

## REPORT PROJECTS KARACHI'S GROWTH, PROBLEMS

46000309d Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 26 Aug 87 p 8

## [Text]

KARACHI, Aug. 25: The City of Karachi will face acute water shortage by the year 2000 because by that time the present population of 7 million will double itself.

The Government, in order to avoid water crisis and water riots, has planned to increase the supply and meet the growing demands.

Under the advice of the Government, the World Bank had prepared a feasibility report which has been submitted to the Government giving details how to overcome the expected crisis.

Besides other recommendations, the World Bank has suggested to increase the preset water tariff to meet the running expenditure and cost of the proposed projects.

The report has been prepared by Sir Macdonal D. and Partners, Cambridge, England on behalf of the Karachi Water and Sewerage Board (KWSB).

The report has proposed a two-phase scheme to provide 200 MGD of treated Indus water to bring Karachi's supply system capacity to 570 MGD before the year 2000. The first phase to supply 100 MGD comprises 120 kilometre canal, 61 k.m. conduit, four major pumping stations, two direct filtration treatment works, storage reservoir 36 k.m. of primary distribution mains and 5 k.m. of twin 1.5 metre diameter steel pumping mains at a cost of 261.46 million dollars. This amount includes a foreign exchange component of 39.62 million dollars.

The report said that expansion of distribution system will allow additional supplies to be made available to new development areas and existing areas with poor supplies.

The report has suggested

restructuring the tariff to encourage consumers to use water responsibly and to meet the financing and running cost of the scheme.

The report indicates that implementation of the first phase will cost 261.46 million U.S. dollars. The earliest completion will be the end of 1992. To meet the date, it is essential that appraisals and funding arrangements are finalised by mid-1988 and that designs and tendering are completed by early 1990.

It has further been pointed out that population of 'Greater Karachi' is expected to increase from 7 million in 1987 to over 14 million by 2000. To meet the demand for water by double the present population, will be a huge task for the City. Not only are the present supplies inadequate but much of the distribution system is very old and extremely high losses occur.

Analysing the demand and supply of water to Karachi City, the report said that the current demand is estimated at 373 MGD (80 per cent domestic and 20 per cent industrial, commercial etc.), which is to be met by the 'Greater Karachi' bulk water supply scheme is fully commissioned in mid-1988 the population will have increased to over 8 million, further widening the gap between the supply and demand.

Suggesting ways and means to overcome this problem, the report said that the prospects of meeting future demand are poor unless very large financial resources and a high-level of engineering expertise are mobilised. It said, because of improving standard of living, doubling the population

means more than doubling the demands. It further said that it is critical for the future of Karachi, that additional water resources are developed and water supply system is expanded as soon as possible.

The feasibility report suggested that expansion of existing system should increase the water supply to Karachi to 473 MGD by 1992.

The World Bank report said that at present 373 MGD supply is made up of 280 MGD from the river Indus, 89 MGD from the now fully exploited Hub river and 4 MGD from ground water. The additional water must be obtained from one or more of these sources, sewerage refuse which can contribute to a limited extent for non-potable industrial use, ground water, which is dispersed in small quantities and invariably required for local rural development, rivers other than Indus and Hub, which are general limited, mostly remote and also required for local development, sea water which is readily available but prohibitively expensive to treat and the Indus, which is the cheapest and the most readily available source.

The report said that because of the large quantity of water now required and the much higher cost of treating sea water, the Indus is the only viable source to meet Karachi's demands. The abstraction of an additional 200 MGD would require an increase of 2.5 per cent of the present withdrawals from the river Indus at Kotri Barrage.

It concluded that readily treatable water would be drawn from Kinjhar Lake which will be operated to avoid any adverse effects on others.

## KURRAM AGENCY: BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT EXPLORED

46000309b Karachi DAWN in English 24 Aug 87 p 6

[Article by Zafar Samdani]

[Text]

PARACHINAR — Four weeks after the strife erupted in Kurram Agency, the area still remains under curfew and traffic continues to be off the road after sunset. These conditions suggest that while the worst of the fighting is over, causes of tension persist.

The officially given death toll in the 12-day strife is 30. Unofficially some officials concede a toll of "85 and possibly 10 per cent more" locals and Peshawar based political sources place the number of casualties at above 200 considering the extent of damage to villages and the arsenal deployed, the last figure could be nearer the truth.

An exact assessment may be available only to the locals directly affected. Majority of villages scattered over the mountainous landscape of Kurram were reportedly involved in the tribal — sectarian clash. The primordial surroundings rule out an estimate of damage with accuracy.

A government Press Note on July 27, four days after tension raised its ugly head and two days after armed clashes acknowledged the event and regretted that "following a number of abductions in the past two months the situation (in Kurram Agency) had taken a sectarian turn", that is, a conflict between Shia and Sunni segments of Kurram population.

It was not the first time that members of the two sects had clashed in Kurram. Their rivalry is traceable over decades there were clashes in 1936, 61, 71, 81 and 83. The last fight (in 83) was bloody it is

remembered by locals for the 45 persons who lost their lives, mainly in the Parachinar city, the Agency headquarters, picturesque placed early under a pre-emptive curfew this time.

The measure smothered seething antagonism but that may prove only a postponement of trouble in Parachinar, the uneasy tranquility of the surface could be camouflaging a pent-up storm. The fighting this time was not a restricted, localised affair as in the past. It spread to most of the villages and a substantial area of the Agency was cordoned off by the army which was called in to deal with the situation. Administration sources conceded, off the record, that it was "not a normal law and order situation".

## Whole truth

The clashes were labelled sectarian in the past as has been done now but that is not the whole truth. In the volatile society of NWFP and its "free" areas, tribal rivalries are as integral to the locale as the hills marking the landscape, and people in Kurram are as trigger-happy as Pathans elsewhere in the region.

The main tribes of Kurram Agency are from Shia and Sunni sects which is not a noteworthy distinction in other tribal areas of NWFP. Sectarianism is usually not a factor in tribal life in which rivalries and enmities abound and are as much part of the rugged life as the stark surroundings. Blood for blood is the custom, gun the rule.

However, as the population stands divided in Shia and Sunni tribesmen, their strife has come to be identified with sectarianism. Calling it wholly sectarian would nevertheless be somewhat inaccurate. The tribal connotation is not to be overlooked.

The biggest single tribe in the agency is Turi which is Shiite. Though Turis are the largest tribe they do not form a majority in the Agency whose population distribution favours the Sunnis. Unlike Shiites, Sunnis of the area are divided in many tribes and sub-tribes ("qaums" the locals call them). Rivalries within them are not uncommon.

Among the Sunnis, Orakzais are the largest while Muqbils, Mangals and Parachamkanis are other notable tribes. The recent clashes were mainly between Turis and Mangals. The latter, unlike others, are on both sides of the Afghan border, a fact that makes them significant beyond their size in the Kurram Valley.

A substantial percentage of Mangals are settled in northern or upper Kurram Agency, right in the lap of the mountains separating Afghanistan from Pakistan. When Afghans came streaming into Pakistan to seek shelter following the events of December 1979, those from the Mangal tribe of Afghanistan turned to Kurram Agency, the nearest area which was familiar to them as well. Bonds between Mangals of the two countries were strong even then. In the years since 1979 they have been further

augmented by intermarriages and other common pursuits, chiefly trading in arms.

While Mangals welcomed their co-tribesmen from across the border and other Sunni tribes accepted them, the Shiite population of the valley resented their arrival for, among other reasons, they represented sectarian imbalance. Over the past eight years, the Afghans have no doubt changed the demographic pattern of the valley. The sectarian factor, though not the sole cause of strife in Kurram is, therefore, not to be ruled out either, tribalism and sectarianism are now inextricably mingled in Kurram.

Amid this clear tribal demarcation along Shiite — Sunni sects is the Bangash tribes consisting of members from both sects. They have been a moderating influence over other tribes because of their very composition. In fact while the combination of tribal and sectarian antagonism has been hitting the area at regular intervals, Shias and Sunnis have lived together even in many non-Bangash villages without a serious conflagration. But the latest clashes may have permanently undermined sectarian harmony.

A local observed with grim foreboding, "I doubt if Shiites and Sunnis could live harmoniously ever again". The texture of local life has been seriously impaired — if not totally destroyed and not because of purely indigenous factors.

The Afghan refugee has become deeply involved in the tribal — sectarian tangle of Kurram Agency. The repercussions, never unenvisioned, are now perceptible in a concrete shape.

### Afghan factor

Kurram Agency's indigenous population stands at around 290,000. This is roughly divided between 55 per cent Sunnis and 45 per cent Shiites. Today 400,000 Afghan refugees officially live in what are given the misleading official description of tentage villages — very few Afghans are in such abodes any more most have built houses.

Further, an estimated 40,000 unregistered Afghans have also found shelter in the valley. They are Sunnis to the last man, a development that has deepened the sense of insecurity among the Shiites of the Agency, a feeling which helped the

British to enter the valley at the end of the last century. Previously existing apprehensions of the Shiites have been aggravated by this massive influx of Afghans.

All Afghan resistance group are working in the Kurram Agency as they are in other refugee settlements. None, however, is more active than the group of Gulbadan Hikmatyar (Hizb-i-Islami) who is accused by locals of using the Kurram — Afghan border as a launching pad for resistance activities and thus, of disturbing the life in the area and also inviting reprisals in the form of air and ground attacks by Kabul forces.

Teri Mangal, the place most mentioned in reprisal despatches, is the last Kurram village on Pak-Afghan border. As its name suggests, the village is inhabited by Mangal tribesmen. Today, its population comprises both Afghan and local Mangals.

Another village whose name keeps cropping up is Kholarchi, located on another corner of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border in the Agency. It is a Turi, hence a Shia village.

Kholarchi was a flourishing timber market before the border situation became uneasy and the presence of Afghans began affecting life generally in the Frontier Province and specifically in the Kurram Agency. Its stocks of wood have not wholly gone up in flames but the content of post 1979 life is undeniably different from earlier years.

On the other side of the border is Pakhtia province of Afghanistan regarded as a stronghold of resistance forces, a strategic position that tends to strengthen Shia misgivings that the refugees could be aiming at a takeover of at least the border belt of the Agency. Rumours of money offered to Shias, already outnumbered, to shift to lower Kurram, persist in the valley and in Peshawar. The presence of more, and at that militant Afghans, would exert greater pressure on the Shiite population. The physical contiguity of Kurram and Pakhtia adds further complexity to the situation.

In this background, the conflict, although between Shias and Sunnis, was undeniably accentuated by the Afghan factor. Indeed, Shias have accused the Afghans of siding with local Sunni tribesmen in the fighting and attacking Shia villages.

Afghans have denied this vehemently but many people not identified with either sect feel that the accusation was not without substance. Shiites, in turn, have been charged with housing agents of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) and with accepting money and arms from the Soviet Union. They too, of course, reject it.

The last part of the charge, accepting Soviet arms, is clearly baseless. Kurram Agency may not be an exceptionally fertile land or a prosperous one (though the valley is not infertile and the people are fairly well-off), arms there are in plenty and of every variety. An economic struggle between the relatively affluent Shiites and Sunnis is, in fact, another dimension of the conflict. Still, it is possible less significant than other factors and now trading in arms is regarded as having brought the Sunnis economically on a par with Shias.

### Modern arms

Arms are another fall-out of the Afghan resistance war. Heavy weapons are as common today as the 303 rifle and revolvers were in the Frontier Province and its tribes in the past. Even the much mentioned Kalashnikov is beginning to go out of vogue. After the end-July clashes, many still smouldering villages provided evidence of having been hit by bombs and missiles. The officials do not deny the use of heavy weaponry only that they do not confirm it for the record. The clashes saw rocket launchers, mortars and missiles freely in operation.

According to available information, leading figures of both Shia and Sunni communities have stocks that could last a protracted war. The house of a notable may have hundreds of missiles stockpiled. The allegations of Shias and Sunnis against each other apart, and irrespective of the sources, guns are certainly on sale all around, as they have always been in the region but now, heavy weapons have superseded old fashioned guns. They are obviously far more lethal. A view of their impact was provided by events in Kurram. Unfortunately, one is unlikely to have heard the last boom of the new, sophisticated and immensely destructive guns.

One well-informed and authentic local says, "Many modern and sophisticated arms were used in the clashes. All heavy weapons deployed by Mujahideen in Afghanistan were deployed in the Kurram Agency. Indeed the only weapons not used here were the Stinger missiles and Blowpipes. They were obviously not needed."

Many people in the valley, as also in other areas of NWFP, are now of the confirmed opinion that if a serious effort was not immediately undertaken to arrest a further deterioration in the situation, the Afghanistan issue will assume a more devastating role in the domestic affairs of Pakistan than it has until now. They read ominous signs for the future. In the context of events in Kurram, rejecting their warning would be naive and worse. Both the Afghan war and sectarian conflict could spill over and spread all over the country.

## BRIEFS

'PUSH OUT AFGHANS' CAMPAIGN--The 'push out the Afghan refugees' campaign, launched by the Pakistan National Party, Baluchistan, is gaining momentum. Some more leaders of public opinion have joined the campaign. The chief of Zehri tribe, Mir Ahmed Khan Zehri, MPA, addressing a meeting of the All Pakistan Anjuman Itihad-i-Zehri, at his residence last week, said the situation had taken a serious turn after the arrival of the Afghan refugees. "Most of these refugees are foreign agents and saboteurs. We have been demanding that these refugees be restricted to the camps," he said. Another Baluch leader, Lardar Abdul Qayyum Sasoli, who was attacked by unidentified assailants two days ago, said in a statement that Afghan refugees were used in the attack. Mir Badadur Khan Mohammad Hasani said the Afghan refugees should be immediately shifted to their camps because the people have become unsafe even in their homes. Addressing a public meeting, the leader of the 'Push out the Afghan refugees' campaign Dr. Abdhul Hakeem Lehri, who is also the provincial President of the PNP said the refugees had been "thrust upon us at the behest of the Americans." [Text] [Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Aug 87 p 16] /13104

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